FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

Supplement

Soviet Union

Congress of People's Deputies Stenographic Record

FBIS-SOV-89-142-S
Wednesday
26 July 1989

Soviet Union
SUPPLEMENT
Congress of People's Deputies
Stenographic Record

FBIS-SOV-89-142-S *26 July 1989*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: The Daily Report is publishing the full translation of IZVESTIYA's "stenographic record" of the Congress of People's Deputies. Additional supplements will be issued as translated material becomes available.

STENOGRAPHIC RECORD

Congress Proceedings Continue 2 Jun 1
Ninth Session *[IZVESTIYA 5 Jun]* 1

Congress Proceedings Continue 2 Jun

Ninth Session

18300665 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Jun 89 Morning Edition pp 1-4

["USSR Congress of People's Deputies. Stenographic Record."—IZVESTIYA headline; conclusion of transcript of 2 June ninth session morning and afternoon proceedings]

[Text]

Ninth Session (Continuation)

A.I. Lukyanov: The floor is turned over to Deputy Chervonopiskiy, internationalist soldier [Afghan veteran] and representative of the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League]. (Applause).

S.V. Chervonopiskiy, first secretary of the Cherkassy Komsomol Gorkom [city party committee] of the Ukraine, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], Cherkassy (from the Komsomol): Comrades! I would first of all like to express my gratitude for the fact that after several days of work the representatives of the youth have finally begun to be given the floor. This is one of those complaints which I am forced to voice since our voters are telephoning and are demanding that we bring their instructions to you.

Comrades! While in the Congress Hall, more and more often I recall the phrase said by one of the heroes of our well-known film hit "The White Sun of the Desert," the customs officer Vereshchagin: "It is an insult to the state!" It is an insult to have rationing coupons in the 72d year of Soviet power, it is an insult in the collapse in the economy, the devastated villages, the at times savage interethnic relations, the fishless rivers and the cities with chemical smog. In truth, we certainly do have things to be proud of. In my opinion, in addition to the world's largest computers, we also have the world's greatest nonconstructive criticism.

But there is something which is the most insulting for me, for the Komsomol, for some say, bureaucrat, and is clearly felt by those 143 deputies who voted against my candidacy to the Supreme Soviet. Incidentally, let me give them my direct telephone number: the city of Cherkassy, 47-28-19. And let them try, if they can, catch me in the first disability group in my office.

So let me say that the most insulting thing is that you, the senior comrades, our fathers and grandfathers, have not left for us, for the youth, even any acceptable ideas by which we can build our lives, that we can work for, fight for, and by which we can educate the youth.

As for the Komsomol, the comrades who without grounds criticize it clearly are judging from those times when they themselves were working there or, more accurately, were not working. At present, even over the last 5 years, the situation has changed appreciably. Centers of scientific-technical creativity for the youth, with attendance in the millions, have arisen, as have youth housing projects which are prototypes for the socialist community, recreational centers, labor production associations, and military-sports clubs. The Komsomol has set out to do concrete deeds. In truth, you must not think that this is already the case everywhere. Quite the contrary. Nevertheless, this is a reality. Just a year ago in Sevastopol, a city of undying Russian glory, the representatives of 100,000 Afghaners [Afghan veterans] of the Ukraine elected me the chairman of the republic reserve personnel council. They called me, as we say in the Ukraine, their father. With full right on their behalf, I presently state the following.

In the first place. In the report of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev there was no political assessment of the Afghan War, which was expected by all of us and possibly by the entire nation and the entire world.

Second, it is embarrassing to the point of tears that those who came under dushman fire, who hit Italian mines or were hit by American Stingers, must at times hear from the mouths of the bureaucrats from the party, the soviet Komsomol and other bodies the words which have almost become a popular saying: "I did not send you to Afghanistan." It is an insult to wait in the so-called preferential lines for a children's baby carriage when the child is already in school, to wait until the year 2000 for an apartment—and as for the furniture and other articles of household luxury, we will have to wait for these obviously until the times when everyone is living well in Russia. I am not speaking here about my crippled brothers. Certainly our prosthetics industry continues to remain at a Stone Age level.

Comrades, I will speak without beating around the bush. My prostheses were manufactured on equipment at one of the two prosthetics plants which were given to us after the war by Churchill's wife. Yes, respected scientists, it is possible to mow with a 12th century model scythe, and even do a good job with it, but I would not even wish it upon my enemies to have to move around with such a deformity at the end of the 20th century. (Applause).

Third, the people have already voiced their trust in us, the former internationalist soldiers. Present in the hall today are 120 people's deputies who underwent the school of hardship, difficulties, courage and military valor in the hard-suffering Afghan land. As you know, the most honest people since time immemorial are our children. So you have tens of thousands of juveniles ripped from the clutches of alcoholism, drug addiction, crime, including organized crime—and there are specific examples of this if you wish to take a look—who are studying today in the military patriotic clubs. I will give a specific example. In our small Cherkassy, there are almost 15 clubs with 800 students. These clubs are run by the former internationalist soldiers. These are

involved not in the production of "cannon fodder," as some have tried to accuse us, but rather in educating physically strong, mentally tempered citizens of our socialist motherland who are ready for any difficulties, and whose hands will build that renewed society the foundation of which is being laid today by you and me, comrade deputies. Yes, these clubs do have a lot of problems. They are often misunderstood and not supported by the bureaucrats from DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy], and public education, the sports bosses who under the most diverse pretexts stubbornly resist turning over to these really effectively operating clubs even the meager athletic equipment which is at their disposal. For now the students often must study precariously in school gymnasiums, and even in barns and basements which do not meet any sanitary requirements and standards. It is an amazing paradox. At the dawn of Soviet power, palaces were given to the children. Now we are driving them into basements. The clubs do not have even elementary facilities, supplies, athletic goods, or training aids. The leaders, basically workers and students, in working 4 or 5 days a week with juveniles, do not receive anything for this except the jitters, and problems on the job and in the family. For this reason I propose that the given question be paid the most serious attention on the state level. We must not limit ourselves to ambiguous directives for the Armed Forces, but rather organize effective sponsorship.

A few words about the Tbilisi tragedy. I, as a person who—and I hope that none of you would have to endure this—has had to say farewell forever to my brothers, my combat friends, among whom were Belorussians, Lithuanians, Gagauz, Tatars, Dargins and Russians, to the depth of my soul hate war and death. Even now I cannot state a definite opinion on this, what is clearly the most shameful and disgraceful provocation of our modern history, and which somehow evokes particular doubt in me. That very airborne regiment from Kirovabad that was discussed here was one of the last to pull out of Afghanistan and end this contradictory war. So I am convinced that the men who even in combat rescued Afghan women and children could never become murderers and butchers, as they have been styled (applause) by politicians from Georgia and the Baltic, who themselves have long been engaged in preparing their own assault detachments (applause), the role of which we are well aware of in the history of certain states. So now they do not put on the badges of the USSR people's deputies, preferring the symbols of their people's fronts. (Applause).

I support without hesitation the idea of republic cost accountability; but when stores sell goods only to persons with a Baltic registry, then this, in my mind, can be called republic nationalistic selfishness. (Applause).

We are still seriously concerned by the unprecedented persecution of the Soviet Army which has been initiated in the mass information media. (Applause).

Completely incomprehensible to me are the purpose and sense of the irresponsible statements by Deputy Sakharov on the issue of Afghanistan, and the malicious persecution of the valiant soldiers by the TV broadcast "View" [Vzglyad]. Forgive me, but I would like to interrupt my speech and read to you one small appeal. "To the Presidium of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. To the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee, and to the Chairman of the National Defense Council, Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

"We, the soldiers, sergeants and officers of the many-thousand-strong troop collective of the Red Banner Orders of Lenin and Kutuzov "60-letiye SSSR" Second Degree Airborne Formation, which for 9 years carried out its international duty in Afghanistan, strongly urge you to provide from the rostrum of the congress an explanation to the people's deputies as to on what grounds or upon whose authorization the USSR People's Deputy Sakharov gave an interview to the journalists of the Canadian newspaper OTTAWA CITIZEN that in Afghanistan Soviet pilots fired on our own Soviet soldiers, who were surrounded, so that they could not be taken prisoner. To the depths of our souls we are indignant over this irresponsible, provocative trick by a well-known scientist, and view his impersonal accusation as an ill-intentioned attack on the Soviet Armed Forces. We view their discrediting as a regular attempt to breach the sacred unity of the Army, the party, and the people. We view this as a belittling of the honor, dignity and memory of those sons of our motherland who to the end carried out its orders: Heroes of the Soviet Union, Airbornemen Mironenko, Chepik, Koryavin, Zadorozhnyy and Yurasov. For us, their example is a symbol of the patriotism and wholehearted loyalty to their military and international duty.

"The congress delegates should know that the airborne troops, contrary to the attempts of Sakharov and other like him, in the future will securely defend the interests of our multinational motherland." (Applause).

I support this appeal because I myself, a former major in the Airborne Troops, served in this formation. The given appeal was signed by Major General Bocharov, Lieutenant Colonel Popov, Major Petrov, Lt Col Yarkov, Captain Turchak, Sergeant Fetisov, Sgt Martynov, Private Solovyev, and Senior Lt Batyuk. They all have been awarded orders and medals of the Soviet Union. (Applause).

Comrade delegates, I am ready to debate the ideas voiced by me today, but I warn you that these are to be debates and not shouting matches as has already occurred here.

One last thing. In the auditorium are more than 80 percent Communists. Very many of them have already spoken. But no one, even in the report, has mentioned the word communism. I am a convinced opponent of

slogans and sham. But the three words for which, I feel, we must all fight for I can state now: these are "the state, the motherland and communism." (Applause. The deputies rise.)

Comrade chairman! Since I have saved several minutes in my speech, I would like to give 2 minutes from my speech to my brother from Belorussia Pavel Shetko. Please. (Applause).

A.I. Lukyanov: Give him the floor?

From the floor: Yes!

A.I. Lukyanov: You may speak.

P.V. Shetko, lecturer from the Propaganda Section of the Minsk Komsomol Obkom [oblast party committee] of Belorussia, Belorussian SSR, Minsk (from the Komsomol): Respected people's deputies, respected guests of the congress! I support what Sergey [Chervonopiskiy] has stated from the rostrum. The phrase which one hears now from the bureaucrat—"I did not send you to Afghanistan"—will probably be heard in the future. How else could this be? And today what we glimpse in the newspapers disturbs us. There are the verses of Yevtushenko, such as "Little Wizard," "The Afghan Ant," and others. We, the internationalist soldiers, demand a thorough assessment of the commitment of troops to Afghanistan. We know the truth about Afghanistan and we want you all to know it. We realize that it will not be easy to do this, considering the complexity of the situation. But, comrades, we must not delay. The confidential letter of the CPSU Central Committee has given rise to differing interpretations of the essence of the question, and the worst thing would be a loss of faith in the state which sent us abroad for war. We do not want to be the victims of a political mistake. We will intensify the struggle for peace and for making certain that no one would dare send our children outside our motherland without the permission of the highest body. (Applause).

We know that the General Staff of the Ministry of Defense is at work on creating a "Kniga Pamyati" [Commemorative Book]. Considering the difficulty of this work and its vastness, it will take many months and possibly years. But we still are insisting on the publication of the lists of killed in order to involve both the Komsomol and party bodies and public organizations in this work. In reflecting on the "Kniga Pamyati," we want our soldiers to be remembered, and not only those who carried out their military duty and perished in Afghanistan, but also in other countries.

At present, our nation has been shaken by numerous events, including Chernobyl, Georgia, Tajikistan and Armenia. And everywhere, our soldiers, the so-called Afghaners, have proven to be true internationalists. They have learned to value true friendship and fraternity, and in donating blood they have not asked what nationality the wounded man is to whom they have given blood. And in me there is much blood of my fellows. In the same ranks with the veterans of the Patriotic War, and with the thousands of juveniles from our clubs, we have taken an active part in the sociopolitical life of the nation, but our comrades presently need our help. They need good prostheses and recuperation centers. The pension for a young disabled person without an arm or without a leg is 46 rubles, while the average wage is 217 rubles in our country. Many need housing. Aid, and most importantly attention, are needed by the families of the deceased. Of course, no one can return a mother's son. That is true. But we do not have any moral right to belittle this mother in a store or at work. Even in order to erect a tombstone for her son she must shed tears and grovel. Is this really merciful?

I propose verification of the execution of all decisions and decrees and a strengthening of personal responsibility for those persons who should answer for their fulfillment. Supervision of this should be entrusted to the Committee for Youth Affairs where internationalist soldiers will be working. They are already helping to instill proper order!

We offer to restructuring our experience, an activist position in life and authority. Thank you. (Applause).

A.D. Sakharov, academician and chief science associate at the L.M. Lebedev Physics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow (from the USSR Academy of Sciences): Least of all (noise in the auditorium) have I sought to insult the Soviet Army. I profoundly respect the Soviet Army and the Soviet soldier who defended our motherland in the Great Patriotic War. But when it is a question of the Afghan War, I again do not insult the soldier who shed his blood there and who heroically carried out his orders. That is not the issue here. It is an issue that the war itself in Afghanistan was a criminal one, a criminal adventure taken...(stir in the auditorium) undertaken by unknown persons, and we also do not know who bears responsibility for this enormous crime against the motherland. This crime cost the lives of almost a million Afghans, a war of destruction was waged against an entire people, and a million persons were killed. And this is what rests on us as a terrible sin, a terrible rebuke. We must wash from ourselves precisely this infamy which lies on our leadership which committed this act of aggression, against the people and against the Army. This is what I want...(stir in the auditorium). I came out against sending Soviet troops into Afghanistan, and for this I was exiled to Gorkiy (stir in the auditorium). Precisely this was the main reason, I am proud of this, I am proud of this exile to Gorkiy as a decoration which I received.... This is the first thing that I want to say.

Second.... The subject of the interview was quite different, and I have already explained this to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, but let me repeat: It was a question of the return of Soviet prisoners of war who were in Pakistan. And I also said that the only method of resolving

this problem was direct talks between the Soviet side, the Kabul government, and the Afghan partisans who must be recognized as a belligerent, as they were defending the independence of their motherland. And this gives them the right to consider themselves its defenders. Only in this manner is it possible to resolve this problem only by an exchange, only by a direct recognition of them.... In replying to this question, I mentioned those announcements which were known to me from the foreign radio broadcasts, that is, the fact of the execution (stir in the auditorium), "with the aim," as was written in this letter which I received, "with the aim of avoiding being captured." These words "the exclusion of capture" were a sentence for those who wrote to me—this was a purely Stalinist sentence copied from secret orders. At present, this question is being investigated, and before this question is clear, no one has the right to accuse me that I have said a mistruth. Not before this question has been subjected to an objective and strict investigation. And I am receiving constantly new facts.

For now that is all I want to say. I do not apologize to the entire Soviet Army, as I have not insulted it. I have not insulted the Soviet Army nor the Soviet soldier (applause, stir in the auditorium), but I have insulted those who gave this criminal order to send Soviet troops into Afghanistan. (Applause, stir in the auditorium.)

A.I. Lukyanov: For inquiry? Three minutes. Comrades, attention, up to 3 minutes for inquiry.

V.N. Ochirov, colonel, commander of an air regiment (University National-Territorial Electoral District, Kalmyk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR]): I am a colonel, the commander of an air regiment who at one time, while still being a captain and a major, twice served in Afghanistan. I read this information which was given by Comrade Sakharov, and I also was angry on behalf of my fellow servicemen, and for the justice of those who did not return, and those who could not return, I state that this is a slander and a lie against our soldiers, against the honor of our people and our Soviet Army. (Applause).

Under the harshest conditions, whatever the circumstances were—at times we had to rescue even one or two wounded soldiers or the dead—when the situation developed that there was not a single chance under heavy fire for the helicopter crew to make a landing or take-off, we still did this, helping out our comrades regardless of nationality. This was our common family of peoples. (Applause).

A.I. Lukyanov: Wait a minute. Three minutes.

A.V. Eyzan, deputy chief physician at the Ventspils Central Rayon Hospital (Ventspils National-Territorial Electoral District, Latvia): Comrade deputies. On behalf of the Baltic republic, I should first state to the congress that in the Baltic the pain of the "Afghaners" is felt just as strongly as in all the other corners of the Soviet Union. Secondly, let me assure you with all responsibility that none of the Baltic republics has even any idea of organizing assault detachments. There are none and will be none! Thank you. (Applause).

V.V. Yakushkin, teacher from the Secondary Vocational-Technical School No 147, Vitebsk (Vitebsk City National-Territorial Electoral District, Belorussia): I myself am an Afghaner. It so happened that we were among the first troops in, in 1979, and we who were there were not only not moved but, even worse, were profoundly angered by all that was said by Academician Sakharov. Here a specific question was posed: Where did the information come from, and who was the source? If a person states something from this high rostrum, he should say who provided him with this information. We request that this be announced to the congress. And I will say for a point of information that as for our helicopter troops, they were killed more than we, as they were more unprotected, and how many helicopters had to seek us out and rescue our pilots.

A.I. Lukyanov: One minute, Sergey Fedorovich [Akhromeyev].

Deputy (not identified): Comrades, I also served in Afghanistan, also in 1979-1980, and I can speak about our brothers, our Latvians. I served with these fellows, and they also, with the Russians and remaining nationalities, did their duty. For this reason, if there are any doubts about the Latvians, I have personally the brightest and best feelings for this nation. Thank you. (Applause).

S.F. Akhromeyev, advisor to the chairman of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Beltsy Territorial Electoral District, Moldavia): I must also participate in this debate with Academician Sakharov. I carried out the duties of the first deputy chief of the General Staff and chief of the General Staff during the entire period of the Afghan events. I can report to you with full responsibility (during the 2 ½ years I carried out my military duty in Afghanistan), that not a single order or anything like it was issued at the General Staff and the Ministry of Defense, and we did not receive any such savage instructions from the political leadership of our nation, to destroy our own soldiers who had fallen in an encirclement. All of this is a pure lie, a deliberate untruth, and Academician Sakharov will not find any documents to substantiate it. (Applause).

A.I. Lukyanov: Identify yourself.

G.I. Kravchenko, brigade leader of the Pioner State Farm [sovkhoz] in Sudogodskiy Rayon, Vladimir Oblast (Gus-Khrustalnyy Territorial Electoral District): Comrade deputies! I address myself to our great scientist, Comrade Sakharov, and ask who gave him the right to insult our children? I have two sons. One has already done his service and the other soon will. And so I would like to know precisely who gave him the right to insult our children, who actually gave up everything, possibly their lives, their families, and their youth. And to say such a

thing! I would assume that this could be said by a worker who actually did not understand...(stir in the auditorium) out of his ignorance, possibly, learned this somewhere from rumors. But, comrades, such a major scientist! This angers me greatly. During the pre-election campaign I was asked: "How do you relate to the activities, to the policy of Comrade Sakharov?" Well, I replied that it is very difficult for me to judge his activities and his politics as I am a working man. But now, being here at the congress, I have clearly understood that I have a completely different opinion of this man. (Applause).

A.I. Lukyanov: One minute. (Stir in the auditorium). And we will stop. One minute.

N.A. Polikarpov, director of the Yelizavetinskiy Sovkhoz, Moshanskiy Rayon (Oktyabrskiy Territorial Electoral District, Penza Oblast): Comrade deputies! I lost my 23-year-old brother, a military pilot, in Afghanistan. Up to now neither I nor anyone knows why he died or under what circumstances. I agree with the notion made here that in the future a Soviet soldier should never die for interests incomprehensible to us. But, comrades, the statement which was made here about our Soviet Army I consider to be slander. Thank you for your attention. (Applause).

Voices: (Inaudible).

A.I. Lukyanov: Now, comrades, we will end this.

T.D. Kazakova, teacher at the G. Gulyam Secondary School No 22, Gazalkent (Chirchik Territorial Electoral District, Tashkent Oblast): Comrade academician! By one action you have eradicated all your activities. You have insulted the entire Army, the entire people, all our fallen who gave up their lives. I have nothing but contempt. You should be ashamed! (Applause).

A.I. Lukyanov: A break is announced until 1600 hours.

* * *

2 June 1989. Kremlin Palace of Congresses. 1600.

USSR People's Deputy A.I. Lukyanov presiding.

A.I. Lukyanov: Comrade deputies! Let us continue the work of the congress. The floor is given to Deputy Garbunov. Deputy Atdayev is to speak next.

G.N. Gorbunov, director of the Irkutsk "60-letiye SSSR" Aviation Plant, Irkutsk (Leninskiy Territorial Electoral District, Russian Soviet Socialist Republic [RSFSR]): Respected comrades, some time has passed since the start of the radical reforms announced by revolutionary restructuring. I, like all the deputies of our oblast, at this unique congress, must answer two questions for our voters. What do we have in this period? What should be done further?

There are indisputable successes in the area of humanitarian order, as well as very high foreign policy activity which is previously unprecedented. This we can approve. But what about the second—the increased deficit in the state budget, the inflation, the embodiment of which are the empty store shelves, the sharp gap in earnings between a small portion of the population and the basic mass who live on one wage, the moral stratification of society, and the deepening of the causes of interethnic problems which have surfaced? All of this is the cause and the consequence of the growing social tension in society. We cannot help but notice this. What should we do?

I feel that having decided on a fundamental restructuring of our own home, we, the people's deputies, should firmly say to each member of our society that for this we need peaceful conditions, and the opportunity to work in an interesting job and freely voice one's opinion. I consider it valid that the next congress adopt a series of laws aimed at preventing interethnic hostility and preventing the heightening of crisis phenomena in the economic and social spheres of our life.

Comrades! Concern for man should become the main goal. We must give him even greater priority in social policy and concentrate all efforts on three, in my opinion, most important areas: supplying food and industrial goods, development of the service sphere, and housing construction. For these purposes we must seek out significantly more funds, also by sharply reducing the development of production for the sake of production, and abandoning the gigantic, inefficient construction projects by which we have grown accustomed to measuring our success. And this question must be resolved rapidly, without waiting until the end of the five-year plan.

I consider it essential precisely at this congress to revise the State Budget by changing investment policy, directing it to the solution of primarily social problems. Otherwise, the course of restructuring will be blocked in the future. And here—I will not hide it—what comes to mind are the words of Clausewitz who, as is known, was highly regarded by Vladimir Ilich Lenin: "Russia is not a country which can actually be conquered. Such a country can be conquered only by inner weakness and by the action of internal discord." We must not allow this. (Applause).

Comrades! Each of us in the course of the electoral campaign came out with his program, but as a whole all programs had man at the center, that is, his life, future and happiness. I am a Siberian, but, unfortunately, I cannot now offer you Siberian help, for our ecological problems in Irkutsk Oblast have become extremely aggrevated, particularly in the towns of Shelekhov, Angarsk, Bratsk and Baykalsk. In the densely populated individual regions of the oblast, due to the concentration of chemical, lumber processing, ore-mining and metallurgical enterprises, the PDK [maximum tolerable concentration] and PDV [maximum tolerable discharge] for a number of vitally important indicators are in excess by

10, 100 and more times. We must share the concern of people for the acute ecological problem which, according to universal recognition, has become the most threatening. At present, the resolution of ecological problems has become one of the main criteria for the humaneness of society and for the level of its technical and scientific development. For this reason it would be advisable, in my view, to instruct the government on a nationwide scale to determine the ecological crisis zones. With the participation of representatives from the local community, the Academy of Sciences, Minzdrav [Ministry of Public Health], Goskomprirody [State Committee for the Protection of Nature] and the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions], we must effectively work out integrated programs and instruct the appropriate departments to eliminate the threat to human health. We must also establish an ecological fund or bank where the local authorities could obtain the required funds on credit for solving these problems. It is time to stop squandering our national riches, and it is time to halt the lumber felling and exploitation of deposits and the deliveries of oil and gas for the benefit of foreign citizens, all of which can be explained only by bungling. It is essential to adopt a law on ecological responsibility, as this would erect a barrier against the grandiose projects of the century.

It has long been high time to advance a broad front against the mass ecological illiteracy of people. I feel that the forming of ecological culture as a part of general human culture should begin at preschool age, in the nursery. We must not permit the younger generation to be raised with an attitude toward nature following the textbooks and methods in which the leitmotiv is still the Michurin words: "We cannot wait for charity from nature. It is our task to take this from her." We have fleeced her enough.

In the schools, technical schools and VUZ's we must incorporate in the curriculum an obligatory special ecological course. This work must be carried out through all forms of educational activity. We must more fully utilize the mass information media and shape public opinion on the inadmissibility of an ecological disaster both as a result of mismanagement and out of ecological illiteracy; the children must be educated by words, while enterprises and individual citizens who violate the nature conservation legislation will naturally be educated by the force of the ruble.

Life indicates that this will be both intelligible and persuasive, and there will be funds to at least partially compensate for the damage caused to nature. I propose that at the next congress we hear the Supreme Soviet on a decision for ecological questions. (Applause).

Respected comrades, I, like a majority of my voters, am concerned by the situation developing in the nation over the erosion of cheap, accessible consumer goods by the tendency for an increase in price, particularly in food products and vital necessities. What is going on? What is the matter? The problem is as follows. In the drive to carry out additional quotas for producing consumer goods—which, incidentally, in a number of instances are not provided with the material and technical resources—a product is chosen that is expensive and advantageous for the enterprise in order to fulfill the increased volumes. I feel that here there is not a sufficiently scientific approach, and the question cannot always be rectified by mere desire and by command-administrative methods. But our consumer remains without inexpensive goods. Undoubtedly, it is essential to increase the volume of consumer goods. But it is also essential to make the study considering a balancing of resources and local interests.

Comrades, I support the policy of our party to reduce the military budget and to lower the level of defense orders for a number of industrial sectors. This ultimately should produce a positive effect in increasing capacity, and employing this capacity for the social sphere. But at present the mere replacemnt of a military order by a civilian one does not solve the problem. There is also the question of how the conversion can be financed. The progress in disarmament has been identified with the disbursal of the liberated money to all sufferers. But clearly the released portion of the military budget would better be employed for the respecialization of these same enterprises. Only then could one realistically count on their true and complete repayment. For this reason I feel that one of the most effective variations is not a gradual or partial respecialization of the enterprises but rather doing this completely, under the condition of creating enterprises producing scientific and technological products and, possibly, doing this together with foreign partners.

Furthermore, there is one thing we cannot help but mention. Under the new management conditions, the cost accounting income is at times distributed according to standards that are centrally set. This very imperfect tool—and here I completely share the viewpoint of Deputy Bunich—introduces into economic practice many injustices, although it should guarantee the conditions for the self-financing of the production and social processes. Clearly independence is not produced. We again have remained in the clutches of the ministries and departments. I feel that the nation should introduce a unified differentiated tax system which would skillfully direct the work of the enterprises in the interests of society. All of this cannot help but retard a rise in the level in industry as a whole. (Applause).

Comrades, we are all concerned, as has been repeatedly stated here and as has been stated here today, by the slow pace of restructuring. We must not shut our eyes to what we still have not been able to do or what errors we have made in the course of restructuring. Comrades, that is my opinion. At present, we have not achieved a situation where each member of our society not in words but in fact supports and contributes to restructuring. And there are many comrades who, riding the wave of our democracy, have shown ambitions and encouraged extremist attitudes. All of this, undoubtedly, costs the state dearly.

The nation must be protected against this. Furthermore, let us raise the level of labor and production discipline, combining this with an interest in the end results. The press has somehow avoided this question. It is not without interest. I support the comments of Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Yevtushenko that actually there must be free labor, but I would also add this should be obligatory labor. (Applause). We clearly must always remember this because in our nation there are very many for whom labor is a burden. Furthermore, there is an absence of enterprise independence. I cannot help but mention this. There has been a reduction in the number of ministries but the functions have remained. Instead of the glavkas [main administrations], we have now made a two-shift system virtually everywhere. We have set up NTT's [scientific-technical centers] with the sole difference that they bea. virtually no responsibility for enterprise operations but control the actuating levers. Here I feel there should not be half-way measures. The reform must be carried out completely so that it can work and so that it can work for restructuring.

Furthermore, many mistakes have been made by the leading bodies. I understand that here we should now also press claims against our economic science in the personage of Academician Aganbegyan, Comrade Abalkin and others. Mistakes have been made. And in the time of restructuring, they are painful for us. Thus, we very rashly, I would say, took the decision to prohibit wine and liquor products and to cut down the vineyards. Now the network of Berezka stores has been prohibited. All of this means money. The budget loses income. I feel that we should make fewer such errors.

Here is an example which shows the essence of the mistakes made by the leadership. Decree No 1,113 of September 1986 on systematizing salaries was far from well thought out; it was faceless and insufficient work was done on it. While in essence the idea was seemingly not bad, we have carried it out in an organized manner. Salaries were raised to a sufficient level but we did not receive additions on top of this increase, thereby allowing an even greater gap between the available cash in the hands of the public and the available supply of commodities. Would it not have been better, on the contrary, to increase the volume of goods in the stores and then carry out the second part?

I have as an acquaintance a construction worker who is employed in a design institute (before my departure we exchanged opinions), and he says: "Gennadiy Nikolayevich [Gorbunov], I am ashamed to receive a wage of 700 and more rubles (note that this in a design institute) for the same work I was doing before." Similar words, comrades, can be heard from many mouths. This is now this decree has worked. I proposed we carefully study the effect of the designated document and make proposals considering the situation as it develops in the nation. In the future we must promulgate decrees being prepared according to this scheme, and ensure their actual assistance. I would like to propose that at least twice a year a report be made to the Supreme Soviet on their implementation and effectiveness.

Comrades! I cannot help but voice my concern over the exceptionally poor social protection in the Siberian area. Judge for yourselves, in terms of the proportional amount of the contribution of the production volumes to the republic budget, for instance, Irkutsk Oblast is in 20th place, but in terms of the absolute majority of criteria for social goods, such as the availability of housing, service facilities, trade, schools and medical institutions, it is in one of the last places of the 73 Russian oblasts. This injustice must be quickly corrected by the corresponding enforceable enactments. Furthermore, in reviewing the pension law, I would like to introduce a proposal to provide additional benefits for the workers of our region. This is logical, correct, and just, as the living conditions of the Siberians are harsh.

One other detail. At the 26th congress of our party they announced, and this was reflected in the documents, additional wages and coefficients for Irkutsk Oblast and Krasnoyarsk Kray. A good deal of time has passed, the people are waiting, but there are no explanations, while we, the people's deputies, find it hard to reply and justify ourselves. This is one of the examples when mistrust is instilled and passivity engendered, and at times even opposition. Let us change the attitude toward the authority of our party and people's power; let us raise these in the eyes of the voters. Where decisions have been made and promises given, they must be carried out, and if things do not happen, this must be said openly, explaining the truth to the people, and the people will then understand. We have sent a request from Irkutsk Oblast on this question and I request that it be answered.

Comrades! Restructuring and democratization in the nation were started by the party. The party disclosed those sore points which most afflict society. Of course, we are right at present to lay claims against a portion of the workers in the apparatus, and there is dissatisfaction over individual decrees. That is a fact. But, comrades, under the guise of combating bureaucratic power, we must not wage an offensive against the party and split the party and the people. One can scarcely contemplate that even at this congress a wedge might be openly driven between the Communists present here and the party leaders. Understandably, this is being done not by true supporters of restructuring but rather by persons with a different ultimate purpose. The party should and will steer the ship of restructuring! (Applause).

Comrades! The honor shown us is great but the demands placed are corresponding. We must work honestly, reliably and worthily, including vis-a-vis one another.

I would very must like to see quicker results from our work on matters which ensure a better quality of life for our people. This is our high duty and obligation to society. Thank you for your attention. (Applause).

A.I. Lukyanov: Comrades, I strongly urge you to adhere to the rules, to respect the congress, to respect yourselves and to respect our agreement.

The floor is turned over to Deputy Atdayev.

Kh. Atdayev, blacksmith at the Ashkhabad "50-letiye SSSR" Petroleum Machine Building Plant (Ashkhabad, Zheleznodorozhnyy National-Territorial Electoral District, Turkmenia): Respected comrades! First of all, on behalf of the deputies from Turkmenia, I would like to express agreement with the content and provisions of the report given by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. But I am also convinced that at present it is not enough to assess one or another phenomenon. There must be active actions to implement what has been planned. The people have entrusted us with the fate of restructuring. This is confirmed by the numerous telegrams from our voters sent to the congress, and we cannot deceive their hopes.

Those who are participating in the work of the congress have had the particular honor and responsibility after the truly democratic elections which attracted the attention of the entire world to take one other major step in carrying out the political reform of Soviet society as outlined by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and elect completely new national governing bodies.

At present many are saying, and are saying with alarm, that in the membership of the USSR people's deputies there is a proportionally small number of workers and collective farm [kolkhoz] members; attempts are being made to give the reasons for this, and voices are being heard that in the next elections a certain number of deputy mandates should be reserved for the representatives of the working class and kolkhoz peasantry in order to ensure their sufficient representation. I feel that the working class does not need artificially eased conditions.

The main reason for what happened in our first democratic elections, in my view, is the lack of experience. At individual places they were very concerned with defending the interests of small groups and at times even individuals, opposing their interests to a larger portion of society. It is not without pride that I say that among the deputies from Turkmenia over half are representatives of the workers and kolkhoz members.

A word about myself. I did not become a deputy in a completely ordinary manner. At the pre-election meeting, when other candidacies were being discussed as well as the programs proposed by them, I decided to propose my own candidacy for discussion and described what I would do if the comrades put their trust in me. In the elections I received a majority of the votes by the voters in competition with the other candidate deputy. And I do not agree with those deputies who have stated that the workers of the party apparatus were an obstacle for us. I obtained only support and help.

Generally, it must be said that the past elections brought about a marked revival in the sociopolitical activeness of the workers and forced them, as the real masters of the nation, to take a new look at our reality and the urgent problems. The republic workers, having taken an active part in carrying out the party's course of restructuring and renewal, have given special attention to socioeconomic development, as it was precisely during the years of stagnation that we fell behind the national level for many indicators. Over the 3 years of the five-year plan there has been a significant rise in the volume of national income and real per capita income. Labor productivity has been steadily rising, and the situation in capital construction has been improving. This has made it possible to complete hundreds of thousands of square meters of housing above the plan. We have overfulfilled the quotas for the construction of schools, preschool institutions, hospitals and polyclinics.

Our party's policy is encountering ever-wider understanding and support in the labor collectives, which are endeavoring to materialize it in concrete undertakings. One can realize this in the example of the enterprise where I have been employed for 23 years now, the petroleum machine-building plant, the product of which (an industrial fan for water cooling towers) is delivered to many enterprises, both in our nation and abroad. The plant was one of the first to convert to operation under state acceptance conditions. The enterprise is converting to cost accountabilty and the director was chosen on a competitive basis.

Here, comrades, I would like to say a few words about state acceptance. If an enterprise converts to self-financing, to cost accounting and covering of costs, here state acceptance, in my opinion, has no place. It is completely unnecessary because the workers themselves control the quality of the produced product.

All these signs of the times are directly related to the process of restructuring and democratization of life, to the increased political and civil self-awareness of the workers, and to the establishment of the principle of social justice and glasnost. The USSR Supreme Soviet and its bodies have great work to do in extending these processes. They have also been reflected in the instructions given to us by our electors. They express the sincere concern of the workers for a rapid solution to social problems. In this context, I would like to draw your attention to several of them.

The course of the economic reform is causing serious concern. As before, prior to the passage of the Law on the State Enterprise, the ministries and departments operated by administrative methods. They confiscated from the collective's fund a large portion of the profit, and this impeded and even made impossible their conversion to full cost accounting and self-financing, and slowed down production development.

Precisely such a situation developed, in particular, in a number of collectives of the republic gosagroprom [state agro-industrial committee]. The superior departments confiscate over 70 percent of the income. I feel that as a whole for the nation one could find numerous examples of such ministerial tyranny which prevents the introduction of new forms and methods of management. The USSR Supreme Soviet and the government should certainly supervise more strictly the course of the economic reform, and promptly dampen the administrative ardor of the leaders of the ministries and departments which violates the enterprise rights.

I would like to voice certain ideas also on the question of the concept of regional cost accounting. To put it briefly, we are in favor. But I feel that it is essential to give a more definite role to economic methods which would establish a reliable basis for restructuring the republic economy management. There also is a need to return to price formation for certain products, particularly raw materials such as oil, gas and cotton.

The construction of new enterprises and particularly labor-intensive industrial sectors will make it possible to resolve the urgent problem for our republic of rationally utilizing the free labor resources and above all women of indigenous nationality. On this question help from the center is indispensable for us. We are asking the USSR Council of Ministers to allocate the necessary funds and equipment as a special grant for the republic to organize an additional 20,000-30,000 jobs.

One other problem. Tashauz Oblast, which is part of the Aral Sea Zone, is bad in ecological terms, with a low water consumption rate and a high percentage of infectious diseases in the population. Very acute is the question of providing high-quality drinking water. The CPSU Central Committee and the government have adopted a decree on the Aral, and this resolves the question of providing water for the oblast's population, but only by the end of the 13th Five-Year Plan. Considering the already existing bad situation, we request that the appropriate bodies be instructed to adopt a decision for beginning construction on the water line in Tashauz Oblast in 1990 and provide the necessary capital investments and resources. As for resolving individual questions provided in the decree on the Aral, we support the proposal that a deputy commission should assume control and provide assistance in its immediate fulfillment.

There are the unresolved questions of individual housing construction and central gas supply for our towns and settlements, although the republic holds second place in the nation for gas output. The main reason here is the extreme insufficiency of resources and credit provided by the USSR Sberbank [Savings Bank].

On behalf of the USSR people's deputies from Turkmenia, I would like to assure you that we are approaching with all responsibility the exercising of our deputy powers and we will forthrightly and consistently make our contribution to actually implementing the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the current USSR Congress of People's Deputies. Thank you for your attention. (Applause).

A.I. Lukyanov: The floor is turned over to the Deputy Yuriy Fedorovich Karyakin. Deputy Dzasokhov is to prepare to speak next.

Yu.F. Karyakin, senior science associate at the Institute of the International Worker Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow (from the USSR Academy of Sciences): Comrade president, people's deputies and voters! Where have the times gone when our General Secretary and president became thrice Hero of the Soviet Union and received the Order of Victory for the fact that his feats in a film were brilliantly portrayed by an actor who for this performance was given the title of Hero of Socialist Labor? Where have those times gone when books were written for Brezhnev and he received the Lenin Prize for literature for them and this prize was presented to him by Markov and then Markov himself received the title of Hero of Socialist Labor from the recently decorated winner? Where have those times gone when you could make a career with books about the general secretaries, where even Chernenko published a work on the triumph of human rights in the Soviet Union and one of the best known journalists went into ecstasy over this work?

If a person who did not know about all of this happened to attend our congress now, I feel he would be dumbfounded, and evidently he would decide that no one was more to blame for all our misfortunes than our general secretary.

Such a trend has arisen. Our congress has already demonstrated this. This is an unprecedented burst in establishing normal relations between power and the people through the deputies. For the first time everything is happening before the very eyes of the entire people, and this is a real forum. The process of the demystification of power has accelerated sharply. However, a dangerous trend has arisen. Previously, people were so accustomed to fawn on the general secretary that now they consider it obligatory to be rude to the new one (applause), although at present there are many bootlickers. Incidentally, one of them, having seen Mikhail Sergeyevich [Gorbachev] shake my hand last month in farewell, immediately decided to offer me the post of editor-in-chief of a very serious journal. (Applause).

When I speak about boorishness I honestly, and particularly here, have no one in mind. I merely see or feel this trend and am very, very afraid. It would be a good thing, having spotted it, to put an end to it at the very outset. The criterion of progressiveness lies not in indiscriminate criticism of Gorbachev but rather in constructive help to our cause in fact and not in fiction. All the more as we ourselves have seen that actually there are no restricted zones for criticism.

I would very much support Gorbachev's initiative, if I have understood it correctly, at the next to last, the April plenum, of publishing the Central Committee sessions fully. (Applause). If I correctly understand this, the party has no secrets from the people, and the Central Committee cannot have any secrets from the party and the people, just as the Politburo cannot from the Central Committee, and so forth, with the exception, certainly, of certain state secrets. It seems to me that this will help us to find constructive paths of unification, that very difficult unification between the people's soviet power and party power, because the problem of separation does exist and we cannot escape from it. Let us not foster the illusions that we are the power and just who are you, comrades from the Politburo? Certainly here there should be some very constructive and not nihilistic solution.

I greatly respect Yuriy Vlasov. But the demand of impeachment, this to me, honestly speaking, seems out of the realm of dreams. Our impeachment in the old times was determined as follows: We have a monarchy limited by the noose, do you remember? And our current impeachment is something like 14 October 1964. And that was in the best interest, if we are to be completely truthful about it. In my opinion, we should not forget this. In any event, at the Leningrad plenum in April, and even in the one about which I spoke, the elements of such a 14 October were visible to the naked eye. And our congress, as I understand it, elected Gorbachev president in order to defend and accelerate restructuring. (Applause).

Mikhail Sergeyevich! I have a request of you as president. I would like our congress to support it. The request as as follows: To return our Russian citizenship to a person who was the first to dare to say the truth about Stalinism, who was the first to urge both himself and ourselves not to lie, the great writer of the Russian land, the great humanist Solzhenitsyn. (Applause).

You have found a common tongue with the Iron Lady, you have found a common tongue with Bush and Reagan, you have found a common tongue with the Pope in Rome—and they have not ceased to be anticommunist—you found this language on the grounds of humanism. Will we not find a common tongue on these grounds with Solzhenitsyn, the great humanist?

Just think, what if Pushkin, Dostoyevskiy or Tolstoy were living now, would we really like them? So what? Would we exile them for this? It seems to me that we will not forgive ourselves (the notion is not mine but voiced for the first time by Astafyev), we will never forgive ourselves and our offspring will not forgive us if we do not do this.

I have long been troubled by one other question. People have tried to dissuade me from mentioning it. Forgive me but I, of course, am determined. Even in my childhood I learned a very quiet, almost totally forgotten fact. Lenin himself wanted to be buried beside the grave of his mother at the Volkov Cemetery in St. Petersburg. Naturally, Nadezhda Konstantinovna [Krupskaya] and Mariya Ilinichna, his sister, wanted this also. But they did not listen to him or to them. What happened happened. And this was yet another, not immediately recognized, not immediately felt moment in our dehumanization, of course. Not only was the last political will of Lenin flaunted but so was his last personal human will. Of course, in the name of Lenin.

You can just imagine what he would say, what he would do to those who did this. He was lying down there and up above the butcher in soft boots was walking about and then he himself was lying nearby. There still was a buffet there and later they removed it. It was the time of the rule of the devil. The Mausoleum with the body of Lenin was not Lenin's mausoleum but even before it was Stalin's Mausoleum.

One could give thousands of ideological and political arguments against this. But there is not a single human argument. I have been warned that the people will not understand this. The people will understand! I assure you, they will understand. This one quiet, forgotten fact that Lenin wanted to rest in a human manner—do we really not understand this?

Tanks roll across Red Square and the body vibrates. Scientists and artists touch up his face—this is a nightmare. In order to create appearances—but there is nothing there and it is terrible to bring this up. So let us bury this body where he, Lenin, would have wished. If I were a believer and if the soul were immortal, it would say thank you to us. (Applause).

One other even more heretical idea. If we have not lost our memory, if we have not murdered our conscience and conscience is conscience, then on Lubyanka, on that building, we should inscribe precisely there the names of the 40 (we do not know the precise figure) millions of dead because of...in line with...under orders of Lubyanka. If that blood were to flow and descend on Lubyanka, it would carry it away. And our national, social and human honor demands this, and I am convinced that this will be.

How much time do I have? Three minutes?

I have received a letter. They propose adopting a congress resolution condemning Academician Sakharov. The letter contains the following words: "Mr. Sakharov, all your accomplishments have been wiped out by your one blasphemous statement. Yes, you were one of the developers of the hydrogen bomb, without which there could not have been the might of our great power. Yes, you rightly wore the decorations of the motherland which thrice made you Hero of Socialist Labor. Yes, you are one of the initiators of a ban on nuclear testing underground, at ground level and in the air. Yes, you were against the entry of our troops into Afghanistan. Yes, you were a defender of democracy and glasnost, but all of this has now been wiped

out. And say thank you that we are not sending you back to Gorkiy or not sending you abroad." The second letter was given to me when I was on my way here. "Each day, the Afghan War killed and maimed scores of our people and hundreds of Afgnans. The shortening of it, even by 1 day, saved them from this plight. On behalf of all the persons who remained alive, their mothers, wives, fiancees, and on behalf of their future children—Russians and Afghans—great thanks to you, Mikhail Sergeyevich [Gorbachev], and to you, Andrey Dimitriyevich [Sakharov]! (Applause).

"The Brezhnev clique commenced the war in Afghanistan and now in order to conceal its criminal role; it is shifting the people's attention away from itself." That is it. (Applause).

A.I. Lukyanov: The floor is now given to Deputy Aleksandr Sergeyevich Dzasokhov. Deputy Shcherbakov is to get ready.

Voice from the auditorium: There is a proposal not to allow the Muscovites to have the floor...(remainder inaudible).

A.S. Dzasokhov, first secretary of the North Osetian CPSU Obkom, Ordzhonikidze (Ordzhonikidze Territorial Electoral District, North Osetian ASSR): Respected chairman of the Supreme Soviet, respected deputies! Our first congress of people's deputies possesses, it seems to me, many distinguishing features. One of them which brings us all together is an unusual awareness of our unbroken spiritual and moral tie with our electors. For all the following 5 years, this will remain one of our main duties. In carrying out their will, during these days, the congress has provided extensive political and social scope for active involvement in solving the basic problems of our society, and that which was justly criticized over the years of stagnation. The report of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet submitted to the congress contains an analysis of the essence of the changes. It is perceived as a sharply critical exchange with our people, with their mood and aspirations. This makes it possible for us to realistically assess and disclose the sore points, primarily in the sphere of the national economy and in the management sphere, as well as in interethnic relations. We feel that the experience of the congress, regardless of its emotional charge, will greatly enrich the political strategy of scientific socialism. For this reason, as a people's deputy and simultaneously as a party worker, I view our congress as a real laboratory for the intellectual creativity of the people's deputies.

On this level I would like to voice a number of proposals aimed at giving the political reform a greater dynamism and ethical strength. In the first place, the question discussed at the congress of the real restoration of power to the soviets has gained universal approval. The hopes of the workers, of quickly releasing the previously fettered potential of our society, are naturally fully tied to this process. But still, comrades, it seems to me, in the course of debate on this question extremes have crept in. I have in mind the raising of the question of the role of the soviets, but without an organic link to the other sociopolitical structures of our society. The accent is put predominantly on the delimitation and even the separation of the functions of the soviet and party bodies, with a clear underestimating of the forms and methods of cooperation and coordination between them. In the speeches of a number of the people's deputies, the place of the party has been spoken of in a polemical form, and this is natural because we are working in a creative situation. Here attempts were made, it seems to me, to play down its role in identifying a criticism of the disclosed existing shortcomings with the party itself, with the party cadres as a whole.

In this context, comrades, I would like to draw attention to the profound process of political reforms which are being carried out within the party itself and the start to which was made by the 19th party conference. This has been carried out through a significant curtailment in the party personnel and released workers from all structures—from the Central Committee down to the party obkoms. This can also be traced in that highly open information which we receive from the pages of the Information Bulletin of the CPSU Central Committee. I propose that in working out the updated constitutional and enforceable provisions concerning all levels of the soviets, considering the various approaches it would be advisable to pay particular attention to the question of the interaction of all our society's structures.

Second, comrades! All strata of our society, as we have become convinced recently, are properly aware of the boldness and decisiveness which have been shown in assessing our dramatic past and bringing out the paralyzing roots and prerequisites for the time of stagnation. However, as before, in maintaining the sharply critical intensity in assessing past events, we now, it seems to me, are in great need of generalizing the positive experience which does exist, which is still of humble scale but can become an important incentive for our advance along the path of restructuring. In this context I would like to direct a number of critical considerations on the role of social science. The people's deputies, particularly those of us who work in the field, are interested in obtaining generalized research from our scientists and scientific collectives on such crucial questions as particular features of political culture under the conditions of the qualitatively new state of our society, on the problems of the individual and society, the diversity of opinions under conditions of socialist pluralism, the dialectics of interethnic relations, and other urgent problems. I feel that a thorough elaboration of the questions with the requisite consideration of practical experience is an important condition for realizing the idea of the full power of the soviets. I would like, comrades, to recall the well-known idea of Lenin that the ability to govern does not fall from the sky and does not come by holy spirit, and that the people who have emerged into the arena of active political creativity are not immediately capable of governing.

Third, the political scope opened in the present-day strategy of restructuring places fundamentally new

demands on the interaction between the executive bodies and the broad strata of the population. Practice indicates that in certain critical situations it is very difficult to correctly assess the situation and find optimum decisions. As a result at times our comrades, in being dedicated to the ideas and goals of restructuring, are unable to delve deeply into the essence of the problem and master the situation. This, unfortunately, leads to insufficiently thought out decisions. Possibly this is a consequence of the fact that we do not fully consider the potential and absolute primacy of the political decisions as was persuasively described in the report. It is essential, if we can put it this way, to have a synchronization of the process of restructuring in society as a whole and its individual elements and structures.

Fourth, it is essential, it seems to me, to recognize that social activeness has been apparent predominantly up to now in the sociopolitical sphere. Unfortunately, the sphere of labor activity has still been little touched. The representative of Irkutsk Oblast is correct when he spoke about this at our afternoon session. The deformation of socialism is not merely the tyranny of the bureaucracy and the voluntarism of the departmental structures. The virus of inhibition, unfortunately, has essentially touched the entire society. This is manifested in an antisocial, parasitic psychology, in the avoidance of socially useful labor, and in the mass phenomena of theft and corruption, or in the connivance with these negative phenomena. It is not easy to overcome all of this. For this reason I share the opinion that not all levels of soviets should be actively involved in this sphere in order to raise up all our society and its labor enthusiasm through free effective creative and active labor. Possibly, an appeal could be made on this question, and which would be an effective unification of our aspirations with the broad masses of people.

Fifth, the problems of interethnic relations have occupied a major place in the congress' work. I will not speak thoroughly on this on the eve of the Central Committee plenum. I would like to merely point out that the questions of improving interethnic relations in theory as well as in practice have at times erroneously been interpreted as a certain process of a weakening of the international factor. This ignores the humanitarian content which is present in the Marxist-Leninist concept of the nationality question. From the standpoint of an objective assessment of the past, we recognize that major errors were made in resolving the nationality question, and that there was a prevalence of administrative methods, incompetence, and a reticence to delve deeply into the occurring processes. In our days, when real scope is opening up for improving interethnic relations, it is vitally important, respected deputies, to carefully study, generalize and skillfully integrate into creative goals the natural and largely objective process of the increased ethnic awareness of the different nations and nationalities in our country.

It would be advisable, in my opinion, to set up a national center for interethnic relations. This, it seems to me, should not squeeze together and integrate into a system the academy institutions, but rather this should be done like the type of well-known scientific centers, for example in the United States, where exclusively the requests of the U.S. Senate and Congress are carried out. As a whole, we need a people's tribune for interethnic relations. It would make sense to resume the journal which was published at the beginning of the 1920's, that is, during the life of Lenin, and which was named ZHIZN NATSIONALNOSTEY. Major tasks, and here I share the opinion of the delegates, also rest on the Soviet of Nationalities.

Finally, comrades, brief ideas on the foreign policy question. The provisions of the report with great force confirm the close linkage between our domestic restructuring and our policy on the international scene. Even now it is apparent that the breakthrough of the Soviet state to new positions will allow us to hold a worthy place in the world community. Here, to be just, I should point out and recognize that previously our actions in the global community were not always commensurate with our national interests and our capabilities as well. In the course of the debate at our congress, the idea has been repeatedly voiced that Soviet foreign policy, in contrast to domestic, is more advanced and more effective. Is there not some contradiction in this? I feel, comrade deputies, that there is not. The logic of revolutionary restructuring demands the establishing of a maximum favorable climate for implementing our creative plans inside the nation and for the active emergence of our nation in the world economic sphere. I should, comrades, point out that, relying on my own humble experience in foreign policy activities, without active participation in world economic relations, we will not resolve many of our problems. Let me mention the following figure. We produce 1/5 of the world's industrial product, but only 4 percent of this product has an opportunity to be sold for export. The notion of the new political thinking also encourages an improvement of our relations with developing countries.

Major foreign policy actions have been carried out over the period of the last months and the last years. In the most prominent place I would put the straightening out of our relations with China. Here also I would like to turn to the question of Afghanistan and say that the Soviet people with enormous gratitude have received the decision of the political leadership to withdraw the limited contingent of our Armed Forces from the Republic of Afghanistan. There was rejoicing in the families of hundreds of thousands. But while recognizing this gratitude, we should maintain enormous sympathy for our own Soviet Army, where the sons of all the peoples of our multinational motherland undergo patriotic schooling and patriotic training. (Applause).

We all are the generation of the first sitting of people's deputies. This is the particular feature of our situation. In maintaining the highly demanding nature of our views and convictions, at the same time it seems to me that we should also endeavor to achieve inner human solidarity and

cultivate a respectful attitude toward one another and raise the level of trust. I am in favor of maintaining the sharply critical atmosphere, but on a basis of greater confidence. We have debated much and heatedly so and we will do so in the future, and before the very eyes of all our people. The question might arise—what are our common ideals, our generally important values? We have probably asked this question ourselves many times. I am profoundly convinced, respected deputies, that each of us will remain loyal to the ideals of the fraternity of peoples, humanism and socialism. Thank you. (Applause).

A.I. Lukyanov: Deputy Shcherbakov has the floor. Deputy Dadamyan should get ready.

V.P. Shcherbakov, chairman of the Moscow City Trade Unions Council, Moscow City (from USSR trade unions): Esteemed comrade deputies! We all know the enormous attention with which Soviet people are following the course of the congress. We are saying a lot about where things are bad and why. But we are keeping shamefacedly quiet about the achievements of socialism, to which there is no alternative in any social system. And proof of this is to be found primarily in the political biographies of all those sitting in this auditorium, beginning with the president. These biographies are impossible under any other political system.

Soviet people are proud of the very great gains of October and the equality and fraternity of all peoples. This alliance must be safeguarded and strengthened. And it is particularly painful today that the potential of socialism is not being used. It is becoming increasingly hard to explain why, despite the decisions which have been taken and the measures which are being implemented for the economy's social reorientation, the working people's living standard is declining. Some people are trying to speculate on these difficulties, to justify their political claims, such as, for instance, the leaders of the Democratic Union, openly calling for civil disobedience to the authorities, for demonstrations and strikes. They stated: "When the stores are empty, when the plants come to a halt, the authorities will fall of their own accord."

The rapid increase in wages, which is outstripping labor productivity growth, is now being cited as one reason for the crisis phenomena in the economy. It is understandable that this phenomenon is abnormal and perturbing, but to seek here the root for economic disorders, for the imbalance in the market, and for the shortage of goods is wrong, to say the least. The real reason is that the main element of the economic reform—economic accountability [khozraschet]—has not worked. It does not exist in teams, on sectors, or in shops. Enterprises have no real independence. Many of the decisions taken formerly to normalize the economy have done nothing to help this, rather the reverse. One example is the transition of industrial enterprises to the new conditions of remuneration of labor, rates, and salaries. In the process of preparing for this crucial step, the labor collectives accumulated a wages fund. Was there no calculation of what this resolution would cost the state when wage rates and salaries were raised? All the Moscow enterprises took an active part in elaborating the "Progress-95" program, which is to ensure the solution of many tasks, including social ones. It will use its own funds here. The implementation of this program has already begun. Many enterprises, using economic independence, are on their own initiative paying for additional leave and child care leave, and are giving grants to badly off families and labor veterans—that is, they are beginning to implement an active social policy without counting on aid from above. But the finance organs are subjecting this policy to criticism.

It is an erroneous opinion that Moscow lives at the expense of other regions. I can say that the capital puts R16 billion in profit into the state budget every year, yet its own budget is R4.2 billion. Today the growth of wages is being artificially limited at many state enterprises. At the same time income in the cooperative sector is not restricted by anything. Why should similar sanctions not be applied to cooperative members? Or does the law so important for state enterprises not operate here?

Everyone knows the story of the "Tekhnika" cooperative which caused such a sensation. Producing nothing, playing mainly on shortages and prices, people there receive wages sometimes hundreds of times greater than the wages of academicians and scientists and statesmen and politicians. I am not opposed to high wages, but one way or another the remuneration of labor should comply with its outlays. The development of the cooperative movement is undoubtedly a necessary matter, but it is a bad thing when this development proceeds without control, with direct connivance from the Ministry of Finance, not unbeknownst to whom the cooperative members are now so successfully transforming state enterprises' noncash funds into cash. Last year Moscow's cooperative members took R311 million out of Moscow's banks and invested R12 million. In the first 5 months of this year they have taken R976 million and invested R38 million. Unless their appetites are moderated, then in the course of the year they will take over R4 billion from Moscow alone. Incidentally, the monthly wages for all workers in Moscow is R1.1 billion, and I remind you that the annual budget for Moscow's municipal economy is R4.2 billion.

I am worried not only by this fact in itself, but by why the financiers and economists are keeping silent, why they are not shouting for help. The working class is directly asking: Who stands to gain? Who is pandering to this? (Applause).

PRAVDA wrote that eight staffers of the USSR Ministry of Justice Institute, including a close relation of O. Soroka, USSR deputy prosecutor general, took part in sharing out the revenue from the "Tekhnika" cooperative. Does that not answer the question of why the cooperatives are under such heavy legal protection? (Applause).

The money which the cooperative members have taken from the banks would be enough to increase the minimum pensions for 20 million badly-off pensioners or to

institute 24 days of paid leave right now for all the country's working people. Yet we are seeking funds in terms of crumbs, of kopeks, to help badly-off families, invalids, and pensioners. Here attempts are still being made to reduce appropriations for social needs. Unless the siphoning of funds from enterprises to cooperatives is halted there will be a financial catastrophe. There is already a common saying to the effect that we have achieved the highest labor productivity in printing money. But what have the cooperatives given the working class? In their mass they have engaged in middleman activity, buying up reserve raw material, semifinished materials, and consumer goods. This aggravates the shortage of commodities, leaves store shelves empty, and intensifies corruption, bribery, speculation, and the growth of organized crime. People are asking when this will be stopped.

In this connection I cannot but share the alarm of the group of people's deputies from the trade unions at the aggravating situation with regard to crime in the country voiced in their request to the government. After all, a favorable economic base has now been created for the growth of crime.

Today there is an increasingly acute ring to the question of why we have not achieved the pace for restructuring on which we were counting. Of course, it is impossible to predict the full depth of problems, but there is much which we were obliged to envisage and resolve more vigorously. Here, too, it is appropriate to ask not only our government but also our economic science: Where have you taken us? Behind the keenly critical speeches addressed to the management and apparatus we have somehow forgotten that no adequately clear economic model for the future has been elaborated. New economic methods, before they have even gone into operation, are being sharply criticized, including from this rostrum, and are being recognized as imperfect. Practical workers have been caught up in experiments. Can our economic science really offer nothing more suitable than purely market relations, the transfer of state enterprises into private hands, and the creation of a free manpower market, which some well-known scientists are advocating? The representatives of the Moscow group of delegates do have such proposals, although they are 25-30 people out of Moscow's 195 deputies. I would like to draw your attention to this, because not all that group's proposals and opinions can represent the opinion of all the capital's deputies. (Applause).

Everything the economists are proposing now is not new; it has been solemnly borrowed from capitalism's experience, but where are the laws of development of the socialist economy? Unfortunately, today we have no scientifically substantiated economic concept of restructuring. Many people understand restructuring in their own way, each as they choose, but there should be no different interpretations here. Economic scientists must pool their efforts in elaborating the economic concept of restructuring, and not waver. Measure seven times and cut once. That folk saying should become the principle of the economists' work. (Applause).

Specific measures are needed to normalize the economy. In addition to the sensible reduction of expenses on defense, the maintenance of the apparatus, and capital construction, the foremost, the main task is financial normalization. It is essential to immediately carry out a monetary reform which will not affect the interests of the honest worker but which will remove from circulation funds acquired by unjust means, to introduce more rapidly a progressive tax on income, and to put state enterprises and cooperatives on an equal footing, giving them the opportunity to compete openly. We must immediately forbid state enterprises from settling accounts with cooperatives out of the production development and social development funds and capital repair funds, whatever arguments may be cited. Accounts should be settled with them only from the material incentive fund. That will increase economic leaders' responsibility to the labor collectives for every ruble spent. (Applause).

The market cannot be saturated with high-quality goods if light industry receives only 3.7 percent of all fixed capital for the entire country. It is essential to redistribute state budget funds and to alter substantially, not by 1 percent but several times over, the correlation of capital investments in favor of the development of group "B" sectors. We should not appeal for this, which is what we have done for years, but introduce an economic mechanism which would interest machine-building and defense enterprises and enterprises of other sectors; we should have a state order for the production of consumer goods in volumes no lower than the annual wages fund. Otherwise the Karacharovo mechanical plant will produce consumer goods worth just 5 kopeks for every ruble of wages, the Sergo Ordzhonikidze plant will produce goods worth 6 kopeks, the Vladimir Ilich plant goods worth 35 kopeks, and so forth. Is it not clear to the leaders of the State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance that until there is a direct connection between these concepts, and until economic leaders' wages depend on an increase in the volumes of consumer goods production, we will never get out of this vicious circle?

I support Mikhail Sergeyevich's proposal to create a special Supreme Soviet commission which would revise all benefits and privileges and examine the problems of the fair distribution of social consumption funds. We cannot fail to see that they have gradually become the means for redistributing benefits in favor of the most affluent groups of the population. On average, receipts from these funds for workers and employees per member of the family with an income of under R50 are nearly three times smaller than in affluent families. We talk too much about the plight of our health care and about social injustice in the use of various benefits. We must ask: Why do some people enjoying position and power have the opportunity for treatment in a sanatorium every year

while others, if you take the travel vouchers normatives, wait for years for such an opportunity? Some people are fed in hospitals for R1.50, others for R3. I think we should decide to redistribute social consumption funds in favor of the badly off.

During the congress the question of resolutely improving pension provisions has been frequently raised. This axiom requires no proof. One of the first laws which should be adopted is the Law on Pensions. Funds are needed for that. I believe that the R10 billion which are being released as a result of the reduction of expenses on armament should be purposefully given to pensioners. The state has the duty to pay its debt to those who have given their labor for the benefit of the motherland. (Applause).

I suggest instructing the Supreme Soviet to finally find out what the minimum living wage is in our country, and to make these figures public. As a whole we must review the entire system of social and legal protection of working people. The existing system provides no protection against inflation and the rise in prices (as though it did not exist in our country). It is essential to introduce a cost of living index and to amend wages, grants, benefits, and pensions when it changes. I consider it absurd and economically harmful to impose restrictions on the payment of pensions and wages to working pensioners. We are short of manpower, and thousands of enterprises are working just one shift, yet we are excluding from social production millions of highly qualified workers and specialists, doctors, and teachers. (Applause). And restrictions for invalids look quite flagrantly unfair. After all, it is not enough that they cannot always find work; the total sum of their wages and pension is limited by law. It is time to remove these restrictions; invalids have a hard life as it is. (Applause).

The congress must take decisions which would enable every person to feel that social justice is being restored. (Applause).

A.I. Lukyanov: Comrades, I have received several notes that we usually draw out the congress sessions, ending them after 0600 or 0700 hours, violating the rules. Comrade Boris Vartanovich Dadamyan from the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] has written us a note again, but possibly we will ask him to speak tomorrow, at the next morning session. Now let us move on to organizational questions and to points of information. Is anyone against this?

From the floor: No.

A.I. Lukyanov: Boris Vartanovich, then you will speak tomorrow morning. The first assignment which the deputies have given the presidium, along with delegations of the union republics, is the formation of a commission on the political and legal evaluation of the Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact in 1939. The presidium, along with the delegations, together with the deputies from the Baltic Republics, the Ukraine, Moldavia and a number of other republics, have agreed on the membership of the commission. If you will permit, I will read the prepared draft of the decree on this question:

" 'Decree of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies 'On Forming a Commission on a Political and Legal Evaluation of the Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact of 1939.' The USSR Congress of People's Deputies decrees:

"For working out a political and legal assessment of the Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact concluded in 1939 as well as the related documents, a commission is to be organized with the following membership of USSR people's deputies: commission chairman—Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, Politburo member, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; commission members, Chingiz Aytmatov, writer, chairman of the Board of the Kirghizia Writers' Union; Georgiy Arkadyevich Arbatov, director of the Institute for the United States and Canada under the USSR Academy of Sciences; Lyudmila Akopovna Arutyunyan, chair head at the Yerevan State University; Yuriy Nikolayevich Afanasyev, rector of the Moscow State Historical Archives Institute; Vasiliy Vladimirovich Bykov, writer, secretary of the Board of the USSR Writers' Union, Minsk; Mavrik Germanovich Volfson, senior instructor at the Latvian Academy of Arts, Riga; Igor Nikolayevich Gryazin, section head at the Institute for Philosophy, Sociology and Law of the Estonian Academy of Sciences, Tartu; Ion Panteleyevich Drutse, writer, Moldavia; Grigoriy Isidorovich Yeremey, chairman of the Moldavian Republic Trade Union Council; Aleksey Ivanovich Kazannik, docent on the chair of the Omsk State University; Ivan Yanovich Kezbers, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee; Vitaliy Alekseyevich Korotich, editor in chief of the journal OGONEK; Vladimir Alekseyevich Kravets, Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs; Sergey Borisovich Lavrov, chair head of Leningrad State University; Vitautas Vitautovich Landsberis, professor of the Lithuanian State Conservatory; Maryu Yokhannesovna Lauristin, chair head of the Tartu State University; Endel Teodorovich Lippmaa, director of the Institute for Chemical and Biological Physics of the Estonian Academy of Sciences; Yustinas Moteyevich Martsinkivichyus, writer, Lithuania; Kazimir Vladimirovich Moteka, lawyer at the First Vilnius Legal Consulting Office; Nikolay Vasilyevich Neyland, Latvian deputy minister of foreign affairs; Aleksey Mikhaylovich Ridiger, metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod, Aleksey; Edgar Elmarovich Savisaar, deputy director of the Maynor Special Design Buro, Tallinn; Valentin Mikhaylovich Falin, head of the International Section of the CPSU Central Committee; Vladimir Ilarionovich Shinkarak, director of the Philosophy Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences; and Zita Leonovna Shichite, lawyer at the Klaypeda Legal Consulting Offices."

This list, comrades, has been fully agreed upon by all delegations. And, as you see, it includes representatives from all the Baltic Republics and from those cities, for

example Klaypeda, which were the first to suffer in 1939, as well as the representatives of Belorussia, the Ukraine, Moldavia and, finally, the Russian Federation. The presidium feels that the membership of this commission can investigate this very complex historical and political question which is to be studied.

Are there any proposals? It is moved to approve this membership.

Then I request a vote. Those in favor of the proposal will please raise their cards.

Who is against? I ask you to look, comrades, who is against. Is there anyone? Respected deputies, six have voted against.

Who has abstained?

A.G. Kostenyuk: Seven deputies have abstained.

A.I. Lukyanov: Thus, comrades, the Decree of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies "On Forming a Commission on a Political and Legal Evaluation of the Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact of 1939" is adopted by a majority of votes.

Comrade deputies! The presidium has instructed me to raise one question.

A week of the congress's work has passed. As is known, and you heard this yourselves, a number of deputies, speaking at the congress, have made deputy requests, and certain requests were turned over to the secretariat in a written form. According to the Constitution and the existing practices, by a deputy request one understands a request addressed by a deputy or group of deputies to a body or official. This is a request to give an official explanation or set out a position on a certain problem relating to the competence of the appropriate state body. A deputy request, of course, must be distinguished from questions, and I must say that in a predominant majority of cases even a lawyer would find it difficult to distinguish where is a question and where is a request. But we consider this rather serious in endeavoring to somehow separate requests from questions, comments and proposals which are addressed to the state bodies, the information media, the presidium itself and so forth.

What do I want to say about requests? As a total today around 20 documents termed deputy requests have been received from the people's deputies. These take up a broad range of problems of an economic, social and ecological nature and the development of the national economic sectors. Many people's deputies, in particular comrades Vasnetsov, Igityan, Kurbanov, Tolpezhnikov and others, have submitted requests related to the events of 9 April 1989 in Tbilisi. Since a deputy commission has been set up on the given question by the congress, it has been proposed that these documents be turned over to this commission for review. Thus, the congress presidium considers it advisable to proceed in the same way with requests received over the Soviet-German Pact. We have just set up a commission. And for inspecting the activities of the group of investigators headed by Deputy Gdlyan, we have formed a similar commission. Here I should say that a protest has been received from the Orenburg delegation that we did not include representatives from this delegation in this commission. But it seems to me that we have already published the membership of this commission and does it make any sense for us to revise it. No.

The next question. I would like to inform you about the fate of other deputy documents of the request or question types. A group of people's deputies including Lukyanenko, Demchuk, Matveychuk and Sidor, has raised the question of the correctness of increasing nuclear power capacity in the Ukraine, and in particular at the Rovno and Khmelnitskiy power plants. This is a serious question, an actually major question.

A group of people's deputies from Crimea Oblast, including Ivanov, Baranovskiy, Koltsov and others, has forwarded a request concerning the advisability of building the Crimean Nuclear Plant. It is proposed that these requests be forwarded to the government and that the USSR Minister of Nuclear Power Lukonin prepare an answer for them.

Deputies Merkulov, Aksenov and Mironova forwarded a request on the prospects of operating the Semipalatinsk Range. You heard about this in the speech by Olzhas Suleymenov. This request was forwarded to the USSR Minister of Defense, Comrade Yazov, and to President of the Academy of Sciences Marchuk.

Thirdly, the request of the group of deputies from Kirghizia and certain public organizations (comrades Komarov, Aytmatov, Druzhinin, Shipitko and others) provides information on the extremely bad ecological situation existing in the city of Frunze. This was forwarded to Chairman of the USSR Gosplan Maslyukov and to Minister of the Gas Industry Chernomyrdin.

A group of deputies from Nikolayev Oblast (deputies Lisnichiy, Opolinskiy, Pogorelov and Lisitskiy) have submitted a request on the reasons for the major violations of the nature conservation legislation in the oblast and the continuation of work on building the Southern Urals Power Project. The request was forwarded to the USSR Council of Ministers. The request of Deputy Sokolov (Tikhvin Territorial District No 54) on the Kirishi Biochemical Plant and the Leningrad GAES [Pumped Storage Power Plant] has been sent to the USSR Council of Ministers. Well, you know, so many have written about Kirishi. A group of people's deputies (Comrades Gelman, Zalygin and others) have forwarded to the USSR Council of Ministers a request on halting construction on the second stage of the Zavolzhskiy

Chemical Plant. I should say that the appropriate commission of the last Supreme Soviet already carefully studied this question. This was published.

Deputies Goncharik, Kashperk and others have forwarded a request on eliminating the consequences of the disaster at the Chernobyl AES. All these requests have also been forwarded to the government.

Deputies Studenkin, Klimov, Kolesnikov and others have forwarded to ministers Bykov (Minmedbioprom [Ministry of Medical and Microbiological Industry]), Shkabardnya (Minpribor [Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems]), and Panichev (Minstankoprom [Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry]) a request on the date for resolving the problem of producing the necessary amount of disposable syringes and systems for blood transfusion. The comrades read of the chaotic situation in this area and the concern of the deputies is valid.

Deputy Filshin from Irkutsk Oblast has submitted a request to the Chairman of the Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems] Gladkiy on the reasons for the delay in settling the question of introducing surpayments for the number of years served in the southern regions of Eastern Siberia as well as increasing the coefficients considering the differences in the living conditions in these regions.

The request of Deputy Shcherbak on the state of financing the public health system in the USSR and the measures to improve public health has been forwarded to USSR Minister of Public Health Comrade Chazov.

Deputy Korotich has submitted a request to the USSR Council of Ministers concerning a rise in the low pensions. We have heard here about the pensions in certain speeches by deputies.

The request of Deputy Mukishev on the reasons for the unsatisfactory operation of the Ministry of Railroads to provide gondolas for Ekibastuz was forwarded to the USSR Council of Ministers.

The request of Deputy Vasilyeva on the reasons for increased prices for public services in the area of building individual housing was forwarded to the Chairman of the USSR Gosstroy, Comrade Batalin.

I can tell you, comrades, that such requests and questions and wishes continue to be received. If we include all of these requests, as is stated in our procedural rules, in the congress agenda, then we will be unable to discuss the problems related to the report and the pending questions which have been included in the congress agenda. We will stray far away from this agenda. For this reason, the presidium submits for your review the proposal that it would be more correct that the government and ministries provide written answers to the deputies on all these requests. And these replies, to the degree that they should be known to the entire congress, would be brought to the attention of all the deputies participating in the congress by the distributing of appropriate documents.

Let me also provide information to you on questions and other appeals which have come in from the deputies. Here we would put the statements and other appeals addressed specifically to the leaders of certain ministries and departments and relating to particular questions. We do not consider it essential to publicize or report on the work being done with such appeals. We forward them directly through the secretariat to the appropriate ministers, to the ministries and departments, and they are all being forwarded for taking measures and will then be reviewed by the Supreme Soviet elected by you, in its committees and commissions, so that these committees and commissions are, so to speak, a means of monitoring those questions which the deputies have raised. The deputies will be informed correspondingly.

What questions have been posed here? Here are problems of radical economic reform, improving the political system, raising the level of prosperity of the people and developing the social sphere. But there are also particular, so to speak, pinpoint problems such as environmental conservation and so forth. Questions have been raised concerning the life of certain regions of the nation, collectives, groups of people and individual citizens. The need has been expressed of immediately helping someone—and such telegrams have been received—and we have taken measures immediately. All of them, these problems, could not be overlooked, and the appropriate assignments have been given for all received and incoming appeals sent to the congress. All the documents are carefully considered and are forwarded to executors and the deputies are to be informed about them in accord with the law governing the current status.

A significant number of appeals has been received from the people's deputies on the problems of nationality relations. You today heard the speech by Deputy Ardzinba, and several other deputies from the Abkhazian ASSR have also requested to speak. They consider it essential to set up an integrated commission of the Supreme Soviet to study the situation which has arisen here. Deputies from Latvia, such as Ivans, Zakis and others, a total of ten deputies, have made a number of proposals to restore the historical truth concerning the Soviet Germans and the Crimean Tatars. This was taken up today. Deputies Yarin and Tso have forwarded an appeal to the congress from their electors on these questions. Deputy Fargiyev has requested the congress to review the question of creating an Ingush ASSR and you also heard this. Deputy Anufriyev raised the question of the situation of the Gagauz in Moldavia.

What decision is proposed? All these proposals and questions require, as you realize, an extended and very substantial, very careful and tactful study. It is proposed that they be turned over for review to the USSR Supreme Soviet

which is to be elected by you as well as to the commission which is currently preparing for the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on interethnic questions.

The proposal of Deputy Veprev to accelerate the adopting of a program for the scientific and technical development of the KATEK [Kansk-Achinsk Fuel-Power Project] and other questions concerning the region's socioeconomic development has been forwarded to Minister of the Coal Industry Shchadov. A group of deputies including Stadnik, Kurtashin, Levykin and others is demanding a revision of the amount of timber felling in the Greater Moscow Area. There have also been very many letters in both the Moscow and central press about this. These are the green lungs of the capital. Deputy Petrakov has proposed a revision in the procedure for making major economic decisions, particularly those concerning the construction of national economic projects requiring significant capital investments. Deputy Zbykovskiy, in our view, has correctly raised the question of updating the Law Governing State Enterprise. A very large group of questions concerns the social sphere, particularly the life of the war and labor veterans. Here the people's deputies Gromov, Temnogrudova, Konkov and others have spoken on this question. Over 60 persons sent proposals to review and carry out measures to raise the standard of living of elderly citizens, and this was just mentioned from the congress rostrum.

A group of deputies including Ryzhov, Belyayev, Kartashov and others has proposed increasing the amount of money allocated for the development of public education. The presidium discussed this question. We propose that the correct thing to do is to turn over these requests from the deputies to the Supreme Soviet to the appropriate commissions for study and for supervising their implementation.

A significant portion of the appeals from the deputies has been devoted to improving Soviet legislation. In particular, Deputy Bogdanov has proposed working out a law on the protection of children and youth. Such a proposal has also been submitted by speakers. A group of Ukrainian deputies has proposed working out a draft law on nuclear power and submitting it for national discussion. Deputy Likhanov and others have submitted a proposal on adopting a law on defending child rights.

Many deputies have also raised other questions relating to social, economic and management development. We propose that all of these and other questions become a matter of thorough investigation by the Supreme Soviet, its commissions and committees. Here it is no longer a matter of request but rather proposals made by the deputies.

Let me draw attention to the fact that a number of deputies (Babchenko, Luchenok, Pamfilova and Safiullin) have very sharply raised questions relating to crime in the nation and its increase. They have raised the question of having the government take immediate measures. Clearly we must support their opinion and request Minister of Internal Affairs Bakatin to report on this question and the planned measures to the USSR Supreme Soviet. This is a question of prime importance.

This, comrades, is a brief report by the presidium and secretariat of the congress on the flow of appeals which have reached us this week. I should also add there were telegrams. As of today, we have received 64,300 letters and telegrams from labor collectives, individual voters and so forth. That is, each day the congress receives an average of 9,500 appeals from the citizens. Certain deputies have proposed publicizing these telegrams but this would simply be impossible. We have also received telegrams where the voters demand that their deputies be included on the list of speakers. (Stir in the auditorium). Probably in this instance we should restrict ourselves to brief information in the form of a condensation of the letters and telegrams received and this would be issued every other day to the congress deputies. We physically simply do not have the possibility of making these telegrams public. (Voices: "Correct.").

I would also like to report to you that over the period from 25 May through 2 June, deputies have spoken 407 times on various questions at the Congress of People's Deputies. As of today, 65 deputies have spoken in the debates on the report. Certain deputies in discussing various questions have taken the floor several times and one of the deputies has carefully estimated what has happened for the delegations. I do not want to read this as the picture is not very balanced. In this context the Presidium should do something so that both the regions and the republics be represented. For example, it has turned out that around 30 deputies have spoken two and more times.

So here we have reported to you on all that has occurred. If you have no argument and support such practices, this can be taken on advisement and we can continue to work in the same spirit. If there are proposals on these questions, then let us agree as follows. Up to 3 minutes, and no more, will be given to each speaker for points of information and proposals. I cannot help but respect the procedural rules as here it is stated that up to 3 minutes will be provided for speaking on the question of the running of the session, reasons for voting and points of information. So please do not take offense.

G.M. Khodyrev, first secretary of the Gorkiy CPSU Obkom (Pavlovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Gorkiy Oblast): Anatoliy Ivanovich [Lukyanov] has set out a clear program for handling the requests of the voters. This we do not dispute. Both the consideration and handling of the requests have been correctly organized. But I would like to draw attention, Anatoliy Ivanovich, of the presidium and secretariat to the not very effective and rash replies of the departments. In particular, the deputies from Gorkiy Oblast, some 18 persons, sent a request to the Council of Ministers on the question of the fate of a central heating supply plant which is being built 5 km away from Gorkiy. Here is

what Comrade Shcherbina has replied to us: Central heating supply for population points employing nuclear fuel has been provided in our nation for more than 10 years now. Here we have demonstrated high efficiency and complete safety.

It is as if Chernobyl had not happened and as if there was no public anxiety over the question of nuclear power.

It seems to me that the leaders of the ministries and departments should show greater sense of responsibility in approaching the replies to requests from the deputies.

Second, our voters have again requested an examination of the possibility of changing the procedure for providing information on the course of the congress. The problem is that the Second Program is watched by people who are engaged on one shift in time-based labor, by engineers, technicians, scientific and design organizations. The working class cannot view these broadcasts. For some reason the radio broadcasts are only on the Mayak [Beacon] Program while three-program receivers do not exist in the entire nation and not everyone has them even within a single population point. For this reason we ask that some thought be given to see whether the Vremya [Time] Program could not be extended and the congress be broadcast over the First Radio Program. (Applause).

N.S. Sazonov, secretary of the Party Committee for Automatic Lathe Operations at the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant (Naberezhnyye Chelny Territorial Electoral District, Tatar ASSR): Respected deputies! Respected voters! I speak here as the leader of a group of deputies from the Tatar Autonomous Republic, on behalf of this group which represents not only the 7-million-strong Tatar nation but also the over 100 nations and nationalities living in the autonomous republic. Our voters criticize us for not speaking and merely making procedural comments. Why? I address this question to the presidium. Why not give the floor to all the autonomous republics? There are 20 of them but only 4 have been given the floor.

Why are the deputies here divided into first and second grade? The union is the first and the autonomous is second. Why do you, respected presidium members, consider my comments as two speeches and the remarks of Aleksandr Ivanovich Konovalov as four? According to Article 13 of the Congress Procedural Rules, this is a point of reference merely on the course of running the congress. This is unfounded!

Now for my concerns. Why don't Tikhonov, Shmelev, Abalkin and Burlatskiy speak here? Much has been said, comrades, but there is no economic base to materialize the proposals which have come up in the course of the debates. I feel that for achieving this goal the best proposal was made by Comrade Bunich. And let us remember that no attention was given to two speakers. Yanenko, rector of Novosibirsk University, said: The minister should come to the parliament to make a request. Yeltsin said: The parliament should make the distribution. This is the most important condition for achieving the goal and for implementing the proposals which were voiced.

Comrade deputies! I feel that we must extend the congress. On Saturday and Sunday we should cancel the excursions and continue discussing the political reports. Whoever is in a hurry should order an Il-86 airbus and head home.

N.N. Medvedev, sector chief at the Kaunas Scientific Research Institute for Radio Metering Equipment (Kaunas-Panyamunskiy National-Territorial Electoral District, Lithuania): Respected president, respected chairman! We would like to voice a decisive protest against the insulting attacks heard from the high rostrum of the congress against the delegations of the three Baltic Republics and at the same time against the peoples represented by them, and we censure the chairperson at the session who let these insults pass without comment. We feel that such attacks are aimed at splitting and undermining the congress. We came here for collaboration—however, the fanning of anti-Baltic chauvinism makes this collaboration impossible. I can only add that when mention was made here of assault detachments, I feel that one of these is myself. In contrast to the volunteer people's militias, we can be rallied at any time of the day and night and we move, we hurry, having learned that somewhere, someone is being harmed, be he a Russian, Lithuanian, Jew, or Tatar. We are armed from head to foot and our weapon is words; we have unlimited rights; and we can come to blows when someone is insulted morally and physically. Possibly for this reason we have meetings some 200,000-strong which are not encircled by the police, we are visited by the respected Secretary Brazauskas, the Second Secretary Berezov, we argue, make peace, go our ways, and again come back together to meet. We are searching for the truth. We do not have drunks and hooligans at these meetings. And we do this on Saturdays and Sundays.

Thank you for your attention. (Applause).

V.F. Derevyanko, editor of the newspaper VECHERNYAYA ODESSA (Odessa, Primorskiy Territorial Electoral District, Odessa Oblast): You are well aware that the Ukraine is a borderland and in the Ukraine there is also its own borderland, and this is Odessa. Odessa is never remembered or almost never. Boris Ilich Oleynik has spoken strongly about the disasters which the Ukraine has experienced; he has done this completely correctly and we thank you, Boris Ilich. But he forgot to say one thing. Comrades, in 5 or 10 years, we will enter the Black Sea in the Red Book. What is today happening with the Black Sea and in our Black Sea Area makes it no longer a national health resort, no longer a resort but rather a deception. Here they have established a testing range for the successful—and incidentally, they are successfully testing all means to destroy the environment. Today there are pickets in the city against unloading a

diesel vessel which has delivered phosphorites. Our laboratories have estimated that in the cargo, it turns out, there are alpha particles that are 15-fold above the tolerable standard, and even more of other particles. To put it briefly, uranium is now being delivered to us.

Last year, anyone who visited the Black Sea could not go swimming. For this reason, I feel it essential to state all of this. The Black Sea is not our problem, it is your problem. There is one centimeter of Black Sea for each person. We, incidentally, submitted a request, it was broken up into parts for us, and what happened was no longer a single request.

R.A. Ubaydullayeva, director of the Economics Institute of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Tashkent (from the women's councils brought together under the Soviet Women's Committee): I would like to state from this rostrum that our delegation has submitted very many requests to the presidium but for some reason these requests today, Anatoliy Ivanovich, were not to be found in your list.

I personally submitted a request on introducing an additional wage coefficient for employment under hot climate conditions for women working in the cotton-growing republics. I submitted a proposal to work out a new concept of locating the productive forces considering the demographic situation and the available labor resources in order to solve the problem of unemployment which exists in the cotton-growing republics. I submitted a request on reviewing the standards weights by women and which at present have been set at 7 tonnes, as well as a number of other questions. I would have liked for these and a number of other proposals to be given and examined.

Furthermore, Mikhail Sergeyevich [Gorbachev], the women of Uzbekistan have phoned and written me with their support for your candidacy for the position of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and I do this. And they requested that we congratulate you, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

One last thing. I have a proposal: Some 500 persons have signed up to speak on the report of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. I request that the list of deputies who signed up be publicized and published in the press. I also request that our proposals be taken into account and that we publish in the central press the speeches of those deputies who were unable to speak here. Thank you.

A.I. Lukyanov: Let me repeat: In the first place, let us observe the procedural rules of 3 minutes. Second, there is an agreement that all the deputy speeches will be published; this is stated in our procedural rules and we are obliged to do this. Third, if there are comments that the deputy requests have not reached the ministries and departments we will see to it that they do.

V.A. Leonchev brigade leader of machinists from the Novokuybyshevsk "50-letiye SSSR" Petrochemical Combine, Novokuybyshevsk (Novokuybyshevsk Territorial Electoral District, RSFSR): Here are 16,000 signatures. Our voters requested that I address the congress. It is a question of the colliding of the vital interests of each of us and the most important political decisions of our state. "Respected comrade USSR People's Deputies! The inhabitants of the town of Chapayevsk and other population points located near the plant being built to destroy chemical weapons are turning to you. We support the course of the party and government of fighting for peace, for disarmament, and for destroying weapons of mass destruction, including chemical ones. This course expresses the will of all honest persons in the world and it is dictated by a concern for man and the future of our civilization. Concern for man must always be shown, including in erecting such major facilities as the plant for destroying toxic substances.

"However, even in a superficial analysis it turns out that in designing and selecting the location for the construction of the plant, the interests of the people have been considered last. At present, the situation has developed in such a manner that for many years directly in the city three rather large chemical enterprises have been operating and these are involved in explosive production. These enterprises also systematically pollute the environment. Over the last 4 years here, three accidents have occurred with explosions and human casualties. The last explosion which occurred on 27 November 1988 carried off six human lives. Scrubber facilities exist only at one plant, they are extremely overloaded, and untreated waste products get into the Chapayevka River and then the Volga. In comparison with average data, infant mortality in the oblast is 2.5-fold higher in the city. A number of illnesses of the blood, the upper respiratory tract, the heart, and oncological ailments are characteristic features for the inhabitants of the town of Chapayevsk. Under these complicated ecological conditions, some 10 km from the town, in a rather densely populated zone, they are preparing to operate a plant for destroying toxins. Information on this plant is very contradictory and this evokes natural concern among the local inhabitants. Academician Kuntsevich in his first meeting with the inhabitants of Chapayevsk on 2 February 1989 stated that the plant will destroy toxins manufactured by the local enterprises...."

A.I. Lukyanov: You can hand over those two pages of text as we are ready to distribute it to the deputies, but don't read it now. Wait a bit, Comrade Yaroshenko, sit down, please. Be patient, Deputy Solovyev has signed up also, and I will give you the floor. Please give us the text and we will send it out. Comrade Solovyev, please.

Yu.B. Solovyev, chairman of the Board of the USSR Designers Union, Moscow (from the USSR Union of Designers): Yesterday evening I was sorry for you, comrades, who were denied the floor. And now I scarcely made it to the rostrum. In a very good speech by Deputy

Starodubtsev, it was pointed out with indignation that outside specialists are giving advice to landholders. The specialist was myself. And I want to say that I did give advice because this concerns scores of millions of people. In the appeal of the landholders it was stated that the supply of the countryside should be on the city level. This is all for the good but not sufficient. The countryside should receive specific goods for the countryside, and these are not of use in the cities as certainly urban goods are not always fit for the countryside. Let me give three examples....

A.I. Lukyanov: Let us wait for the three examples. I again request, comrades, that you make the proposals.

Yu.B. Solovyev: I have a specific proposal.

A.I. Lukyanov: Then please.

Yu.B. Solovyev: I feel that this appeal should include....

A.I. Lukyanov: Yuriy Borisovich [Solovyev], please be brief. I beg you.

Yu.B. Solovyev: Just one minute.

A.I. Lukyanov: Please.

Yu.B. Solovyev: The appeal should contain the addition: It is essential to organize the production of consumer durables specially for the countryside. This would include ecological toilets, special refrigerators. Urban refrigerators do not work in the countryside. There there should be large individual refrigerators and so forth.

A.I. Lukyanov: Please, the next.

A.A. Zgerskaya (Yaroshinskaya), correspondent from the newspaper RADYANSKA ZHITOMIRSHCHINA, Zhitomir (Zhitomir Territorial District, the Ukraine): Respected comrades! I have a great request of our presidium as well as for you, deputies. What I am about to say concerns not only me and my voters. This is, so to speak, a common human problem. The issue is that our Zhitomir Oblast is in the zone of particularly hard radiation. It is a matter of Narodichskiy Rayon in Zhitomir Oblast which is in the zone of particularly hard radiation. It is being turned into a zone of particularly deep silence. As a journalist, for 18 months I have been unable to publish anywhere the materials on what is occurring in the rayon. While immediately there were 18 villages which were in the zone of particularly hard radiation, at present 3 years later, there are around 90 such villages. While previously only Narodichskiy Rayon was contaminated by radiation, at present another four such rayons have been added.

And then Ukrainian Minister of Public Health Romanenko tells us who live in this zone that it is almost a Swiss resort. This is simply angering. If you view those frames which were taken by the documentary filmmakers from Moscow, you can actually see what is happening. And this concerns all of us. Yes, there is Tbilisi, yes, there are other events. But what is happening here, comrades, is very important. Let me make a great request from the presidium. There is a video cassette and I would greatly appreciate it if the presidium would provide an opportunity for all the people's deputies to view this video cassette. It contains the truth about Narodichskiy Rayon. Thank you.

A.I. Lukyanov: Please.

M.I. Umarkhodzhayev, rector of the Andizhan State Pedagogical Institute in Andizhan (Andizhan National-Territorial District, Uzbekistan): On 31 May, we (more than 70 persons) submitted a statement which for some reason was not read. This is the angst of all the cotton-growing republics. Not only Uzbekistan, but also Kirghizia, Turkmenia and Tajikistan. The first request is to increase the purchasing prices for cotton by 1.5-fold. (Applause). If this is not done then our standard of living will not rise.

Second, the birthrate, as you know, in Uzbekistan and generally in Central Asia, is very high. At present, our children are leaving school. However, the situation in the republic is very difficult in the area of job placement. We must give some very serious thought to this. At present, there are 760,000 persons unemployed in the republic socialized economy. Soon there will be millions. For this reason we and the government must give serious concern to this. I request this on behalf of all the Central Asian delegations. Thank you.

V.P. Malyshev, director of the Pobeda Sovkhoz, Volgodonskiy Rayon in Rostov Oblast, Pobeda (Volgodonsk Territorial Electoral District, Rostov Oblast): We from the Rostov delegation have submitted a deputy request on the construction of the Rostov Nuclear Power Plant. Unfortunately, we have not heard where our request has gone. The situation is very serious, comrades. You are aware that the Atommash [Nuclear Machine Building] Plant and a satellite city are being built. Since there is subsiding soil there, one multistory building has collapsed and many have slipped. The cooling pool is in the sea itself and the plant is located 13 km from the town of Volgodonsk. People are very concerned. The presidium has a petition with 58,000 signatures. The people are requesting an investigation of the construction of this nuclear plant and are insisting that a nondepartmental independent commission be set up which would travel to Volgodonsk and decide whether or not this plant should be built.

A.I. Lukyanov: Good. I will watch the clock, 3 minutes. You recall, comrades, we offered you such short speeches. The congress did not agree. Let us be patient, we will listen another 15 minutes. (Stir in the hall). Well, should we break off?

From the auditorium: Yes!

A.I. Lukyanov: Let us at least hear five more comrades.

From the auditorium: No!

A.I. Lukyanov: No. Then I will put it to a vote.

From the floor: Let one more person!

A.I. Lukyanov: Let the person have the floor as he is already on the rostrum.

P.A. Akhunov, deputy director for educational work at School No 4, Uzbekistan, Andizhan Oblast, Moskovskiy Rayon, the town of Shakhrikhin (from the Komsomol): Three days ago I wanted to make a protest. The problem is that from the Uzbekistan delegation they give the floor only to representatives whose views and estimates are just alike. I requested at the next session that the floor be granted to that minority which has its own view on the state of affairs in the republic. Why are we not allowed to speak about the catastrophic situation in the republic, Mikhail Sergeyevich? The people of Uzbekistan have linked their hopes to restructuring, and that we will finally escape from monocropping. Nothing, unfortunately, is happening. The planted areas in Uzbekistan are enormous, and they must be reduced by 50 percent. I have a great deal to say and I request that I be given the floor in the next session.

A.I. Lukyanov: Comrades, let us respect one another. Well, should we stop? I request a vote.

(Stir in the auditorium).

A.I. Lukyanov: Well, should we give someone the floor or not?

From the audience: No.

(Stir in the auditorium).

A.I. Lukyanov: Comrades, the floor is requested by the very respected Kasyan.... (Stir in the auditorium). Should we give Kasyan the floor?

N.A. Kasyan, department head from the Leshchinovskiy Boarding School, the Ukraine, Poltava Oblast, Kobeliki (from the Soviet Charity and Health Fund): This is what I want to say. Yesterday it was announced that I had written a note that I would receive all the delegates. I did not write this note. It was announced over National Radio and Television. Now you can imagine what is happening. (Stir, noise in the auditorium). I today received some 200 persons. That is impossible.

I also have something else to say. Comrades! I am the deputy from charity. Let us be kind, let us respect one another. What are we doing? There was yesterday's speech by Vlasov. It was particularly distasteful to me. He may have suffered some insults. I have also endured insults from the Ukrainian Ministry of Public Health. I was also summoned three times to the republic procurator's office. But why bring up all this dirt which is simply shameful to hear? (Applause). You understand it is very shameful for me to hear such things. I respect our party. I am a nonparty person. But my wife is a party member. (Stir in the auditorium). And we get on well together. Our party and people are united. (Stir in the auditorium. Applause.).

A.I. Lukyanov: I feel that we should give Kasyan the floor separately. Now on this good note let us vote.... Who is in favor of breaking off debates now?

Who is against? Do we need to count? It is a clear minority. (Stir in the auditorium). Then let me say what we will be doing tomorrow, the day after and so forth.

First of all, our cosmonauts (Comrade Ryumin) have invited us to an exhibit of space technology. Those desiring to visit the exhibit "The Introduction of the Achievements of Missile and Space Technology Into the National Economy" should sign up today at the Congress Document Issuing Desk with Deputy Ryumin. The departure tomorrow is at 0930 hours from the Hotel Moskva. The excursion will last to approximately 1600 hours. For the deputies who will be working on Saturday, a trip is offered on Sunday. We want you to take a look and see just what this equipment is, how much it costs, and what it has provided us. That is the first thing.

Second, I want to remind the deputies who are members of the Council of Elders that the session of the Council of Elders will be held tomorrow at 1000 hours in the morning in the Chamber Session Auditorium.

The first organizational session of the Soviet of the Union is to be held tomorrow at 1500 hours also in the Chamber Session Hall of the USSR Supreme Soviet. There will be a session of the Soviet of Nationalities on Monday.

The next session of the congress will be held on Monday, 5 June, at 1000. As for when we are planning to end the work, it will be easier if you ask me the question later. I wish you all the best.